

II. ORGANIZATION OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

25 YEAR RE-REVIEW

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The internal organization of the Fourth International resembles that of the defunct Third International, from which it split. It consists of the following bodies:

- World Congress
- World Conference
- International Executive Committee
- International Secretariat
- Continental Conferences
- Continental Executive Committees
- National Groups

A. The World Congress

Theoretically the World Congress consists of at least one delegate from each National Group, members of the International Executive Committee, and other members of the Fourth International who wish to attend. A president, vice-president and an indefinite number of secretaries are elected at the inaugural session. The authority of these officers expires upon the closing of the Congress. The responsibilities of the World Congress are to 1) draft the statutes of the International, 2) draft the political program and devise methods for applying it, 3) elect members of the International Executive Committee, and 4) formulate decisions on internal problems, such as the expulsion of members, consideration of criticisms, etc.

The first World Congress in 1938 proclaimed the formation of the Fourth International. Since that time an "Emergency Conference" was held in Mexico in 1940, another in Nazi-occupied Paris in mid-1944, one in Paris in September in 1946, and again in London in September 1947.

The first postwar World Congress was held in Paris in April 1948.

Representation at the World Congress depends on the size of the particular party and the importance of the country in which the party is located. For this purpose, the countries of the world are divided into three categories:

First category: USSR, USA, China, India, Great Britain, France, and Germany.

Second category: Spain, Italy, Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, Greece, Canada, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia and Indo-China.

Third category: Norway, Denmark, Bulgaria, Ireland, Poland, Egypt, Cyprus, Cuba, Peru, Uruguay, Switzerland, Australia, and the Union of South Africa.

Every party in the first category having up to 150 members is permitted three delegates; in the second category, two delegates; and in the third, one delegate.

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In addition to those delegates, it is likely that representatives of parties in the process of being organized, or groups operating as fractions within other leftist parties or organizations, may be invited to attend.

B. The World Conference

The membership of the World Conference is similar to that of the World Congress. In this case, however, only the presence of representatives of those National Groups on the continent in which the Conference takes place is required. Representation of other National Groups is optional. Members of the International Executive Committee and the International Secretariat must be present at World Conferences. The avowed purpose of the Conferences is to "control and stimulate the application of the world program as adopted by the World Congress".

World Conferences, sometimes referred to as "International Conferences", have been held in Brussels (March-April 1946) and in Grenoble (August 1947). The Brussels meeting was originally scheduled to take place in Paris but the French police intervened. This conference, held in the Rue de Pepin, Brussels, was divided into two separate meetings. The March meeting approved the formation of a Spanish Revolutionary Group and the reinforcement of propaganda among German Prisoners of War. The April meeting, attended by delegates representing National Groups of 42 countries, adopted a new program for penetration, and prepared a Manifesto which was translated into many languages and widely distributed.

C. International Executive Committee (IEC)

This committee administers the affairs of the Fourth International during the intervals between international meetings. It is accountable to the World Congress and the World Conference when they convene. The size of the IEC varies in accordance with the strength of the entire Fourth International. There are reportedly 19 members at present, representing at least 14 countries. Those identified are Jock HASTON, Secretary General of the British party; Jimmy DEANE, permanent British member; Ernest Evg MANDEL (aka Ernest GELMAN) of the Belgian party; Walter NELZ (aka Heinrich BUCHBINDER) of the Swiss party; ORTIZ, from Uruguay; and possibly Sylvia STEIN, wife of the Organization Secretary of the American Socialist Workers' Party.

The highest official of the IEC (and of the Fourth International) is its Secretary-General. Trotsky held this position until his death. The present

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Secretary-General is reported to be one J. BAILL, believed to be an alias for Marc LORIS or Michel RAPTIS, a Greek.

The headquarters of the IEC has been reported to be in Belgium, but it is considered more likely that it is located in Paris, where the official journal, Quatrieme Internationale, is published. Branch offices of the IEC have been reported in Greece, the British Zone of Germany, and the USSR. The basis for these reports may be the fact that not all members of the IEC live in Western Europe. Those who live at headquarters inform and consult frequently with the members in other continents and other parts of Europe.

Important decisions are made at plenums (or full meetings) of the IEC held about every six months. As an example of the type of decisions made, it was decided in early 1947:

1. To consider organizing Japanese workers in Trotskyite groups.
2. To form a provisional Latin American Bureau of Fourth International groups.
3. To order no future split within the Greek Party.
4. To establish representation of the countries at the World Congress by categories.

D. International Secretariat (IS)

This body, with headquarters in Paris and a sub-headquarters in London, consists of a few secretaries whose main business is to handle the current office work of the IEC. These are generally selected from among members of the IEC, work full time, and receive wages. Owing to a rising volume of work, the number of secretaries has been increased from five to seven. The following have been reported as members of the IS: MANDEL (Belgium), HASTON (British), DEANE (British), Pierre Henri FRANCK (France), Kamalash Chandra BANERJI (India), Inu ADRIAN (Spain), and Inu BLANCHE (New Zealand). As far as is known Trotskyite supporters in Spain and New Zealand are not numerous. The presence of members from these countries on the IS is probably an indication of the Fourth International's desire to encourage growing national movements. GABRIEL is also reported as a leading member as well as Albert DEMASURE and GEOFFROY.

Headquarters organization consists of an Administration Bureau, a Press Department, a Finance Department and various bureaus concerned with the USSR and its satellites, Germany, colonial problems and youth organization. In addition, there has been repeated reference to a special IS "Cadre" School at which both FRANCK and MANDEL are lecturers.

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Directions have reportedly been issued by the IS to all National Groups instructing them to send to IS headquarters regular financial contributions and information regarding their organization and particular political and economic problems. Part of the correspondence is apparently sent to the editors of the official publication, Quatrième Internationale, whose address is c/o IME, 2011, P.O. #64, Paris 15°. Some of the information is also published in the Internal Bulletin, put out by the IS. Another cover address of the IS was given recently as Mlle. REMARD, P.O. #63, Paris 5°.

Monetary contributions are divided into International Funds, Continental Funds and National Funds. Regular contributions are collected within all National Groups on an established monthly quota basis. Each individual member pays a quota in accordance with his income. Each National Group fills its National Fund without help from the IS and, in addition, contributes to the Continental and International Funds.

One National Group may help to finance another. It is reported, for example, that Trotskyite groups working in Germany during the war were financed by the Swiss Trotskyite group. The Socialist Workers' Party of the US is reported to be contributing to the present German party. The Trotskyite movement in French Indo-China is alleged to be financed by the French party.

E. Continental Conference

The Continental Conference is composed of delegates representing the National Groups of the particular continent concerned and members of the Continental Executive Committee, where such a Committee exists. One delegate of the IEC is also expected to be present. The Conference is organized to handle the application of the program decided upon by the World Congress, insofar as it concerns the continent, and to handle all matters of particular interest to the Trotskyite parties of the continent.

F. Continental Executive Committee

It is reported that this committee is formed only where the IEC cannot satisfactorily attend to the business of a particular continent, because of either increased membership of the National Groups or special area need. Reports constantly refer to the European Executive Committee. It may be that the IEC devotes itself almost exclusively to Asiatic and American affairs, leaving the European Executive Committee to handle its own problems, after consultation with the IEC.

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The National Groups are those organizations affiliated with the Fourth International which exist in individual countries. In some instances (the US, for example), there are several National Groups in one country. In other cases, two or three countries (as in the case of Chile, Argentina and Bolivia) may maintain a common headquarters with jurisdiction over the groups in those countries.

The directing unit of a National Group is variously known as the National, Central or Political Committee. Reports on the French Party include references to a Central Committee as well as to a Politburo. Members of these Committees are elected at National Congresses or Conferences.

Frequently a National Group consists of a "Majority" and a "Minority", a distinction based not on numerical strength but on differences of interpretation of the political situation or Trotskyite policy. The group dissenting from the agreed policy, as approved by the IEC, usually constitutes the "Minority". On the other hand the IEC has been known to support the "Minority", as in the case of the British Revolutionary Communist Party, which split over the question of entrance into the Labour Party. Where such a split exists, the statutes of the Fourth International require that at least one representative of the "Minority" be represented in National headquarters.

According to a statement of the IEC (July-August 1947), the Fourth International has affiliates in more than thirty countries of Europe, Asia and America. In the following pages, available information on the status of the Trotskyite movement in 46 countries is discussed. In the case of 9 countries, including the USSR, no information is available other than the fact that the Fourth International claims to have affiliates there. In the case of Japan, it is known only that an organizational drive is under way. Which parties are "official" National Groups of the Fourth International is not always clear. Only where reasonably reliable information is available as to the "official" status of a Party, is it so denoted. In some cases, as already stated, the Trotskyite group of a country may operate as a "fraction" within another leftist party.

On the European continent, the parties in Belgium, France and Great Britain appear to dominate the movement, although none of them is numerically strong--

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the Belgian party having about 5,000 members and sympathizers. The French party draws strength from the presence of the IS in its country. The small British party (330 members) contains some of the leading personalities in the international movement, and serves allegedly as a communications channel between the US and the IEC, as well as between groups in the USSR and the IEC.

The parties in the US are probably heavily relied upon for financial aid to other countries, although proof of such contributions has not yet been established. Elsewhere on the American continent, Mexico carries special weight as the scene of Trotsky's exile and death, and increased attention is being given at present to the building of the movement throughout Latin America.

One of the major points of present Fourth International policy is the building up of Trotskyite movements among the colonial peoples. To this end, a Colonial Marxist League and a Colonial Commission have been established with headquarters in London; the French party has, for the same reason, set up an Indo-Chinese Section.

The future of Trotskyism, as the future of any revolutionary movement, depends on the trend of economic and political fortunes in the countries of the world. Above all, if the "Majority" opinion, favoring "unconditional defense" of the USSR in the clash of capitalism and socialism, prevails, the Fourth International may temporarily abandon its own objectives and wait for a Soviet victory before organizing its forces to fight the "oppressors of the proletariat of the USSR".

The reverberations of the Tito conflict may also have a bearing on the development of Trotskyism. Although there is no evidence to show that Tito is a "Trotskyite", his example has strengthened anti-Stalinist elements abroad. If Tito survives, the Fourth International may eventually find in him an ally.

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